/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726]

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

[115]

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

• 551 162 [16]

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

/57 cont./

551
162
[802]

Estimated Age (315)

315. These Indians count only to three, so I could only estimate the ages given.

Hewemãõ (316) -- chief and medicine man — 42 years

[123]

316. I was able to learn all the names only after my adoption into the tribe, for they are kept a strict secret from outsiders. But even then the individual men and women themselves never told them to me; I learned the names only from other members of the tribe, and, to be sure, always in a whisper. If they call each other in a loud voice, they use Portuguese names which they have heard from palm-fiber gatherers. I too had to give names to several members of the tribe.

Koentemá -- his first wife (from the Pakidã tribe) — 24 years
Kanikawõ -- son — 8 years
Daughter (has no name yet (317) — 1 year

[553]

317. Children are given their names only after the completion of their third year (see pp. 201 ff.).

Yaripanamá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe) (She had a daughter who died in infancy.) — 35 years
Maxiuamá -- daughter of Hewemãõ and his former wife Taímakána, who died in childbirth — 9 years

Surára

/57 cont./

551
162

	Estimated Age
Kurikayawõ -- brother of the chief and later his successor	37 years
Xunamĩ -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe) (She had a son who died as a small child.)	18 years
/58/	
Xomirawõ -- war chief	40 years
Uitimá -- his wife (from the Xamatári tribe)	38 years
Moramanamá -- daughter (married to the Surára Uaxianauwõ)	18 years
Yaxoĩma -- daughter	13 years
Xinarĩ -- his first wife (from the Pakidái tribe, sister of Koentemá)	20 years
Inxinemá -- youngest brother of the chief (bachelor)	19 years
Hemahemá -- son of the deceased eldest brother of Hewemão	25 years
Hanohomá -- warrior	43 years
Unhamĩ -- his wife	24 years
Matuwõ -- son of Hanohomá and his first wife, who died. (Matuwõ is married to Maxiuamá, the nine-year-old daughter of Chief Hewemão.)	17 years
Unariwõ -- warrior	38 years
Yanauemá -- his wife (from the Puseheweterĩ tribe)	35 years
Komitimá -- daughter (second wife of the Surára Hemahemá)	18 years
Rokoahĩma -- daughter	8 years
Cinapemĩ -- mother of Unariwõ	54 years
Toabewõ -- warrior	28 years
Uainomĩ -- his wife (mother of Unhamĩ, see above)	43 years
Raxakewõ -- warrior	32 years
Amarokomá -- his first wife (from the Xiriána tribe) (Two children, a boy and girl, have died.)	24 years
Yaxuramá -- his second wife (from the Puseheweterĩ tribe)	22 years

Surára

/58 cont./	Estimated Age
161 Daughter (has no name yet)	3 years
162 Orateõ -- warrior	32 years
Posioubemf -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	23 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 months
Uaxianauwõ -- warrior	24 years
Moramanamá -- his wife (daughter of the war chief)	18 years
Rarorauwõ -- warrior	36 years
Tanyakomf -- his wife (from the Pusheweterf tribe) (Three children, two boys and a girl, died.)	30 years
Rokomá -- mother of Rarorauwõ (oldest Surára woman)	63 years
Anyarawõ -- warrior	29 years
Ranomá -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	20 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xanimá, mother of Anyarawõ	47 years
Poxewõ -- warrior	28 years
Riopemf -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	21 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Hunkawá -- warrior	29 years
Xororimá -- his wife	21 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Koroyewõ -- warrior	31 years
Natororomá -- his wife (from the Pusheweterf tribe)	23 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 years
Werewõ -- warrior	30 years
Makanamá -- his wife (from the Pusheweterf tribe)	22 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	1 year
Ixobewõ -- warrior	31 years
Oikoçimá -- his first wife (from the Xirixána tribe)	28 years
Daughter (has no name yet). The twin brother died.	3 years

Surára
Pakidái

/58 cont./

	Estimated Age
551 162 Xeramí -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	25 years
Xaniwõ -- son	12 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xutumí -- widow	59 years
Haikiamí -- her daughter (likewise a widow)	40 years
Yarikoawõ -- son of Haikiamí (bachelor)	17 years
Katarauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years
/59/	
Ikoauwõ -- solitary bachelor	16 years
Jibeauwõ -- orphan boy	9 years
Mauabemí -- orphan boy	8 years
Nikeromí -- female captive (from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí)	15 years

[161] [123] There are somewhat more Pakidái, for they numbered 89. Since my association with them was not quite as close as with the Surára, however, I was able to learn considerably fewer given names. In the following I am presenting those that became known to me:

	Estimated Age
Karenauõ -- chief and medicine man	26 years
Poroamí -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	20 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Poréhiwõ -- war chief	32 years
Ruxoyetemí -- his first wife (from the Surára tribe)	30 years
Yauetoiwõ -- son	13 years
Xaraíma -- daughter	7 years
Daughter (has no name yet). She was born during my stay	1 month
The second wife of Poréhiwõ left him because of ill treatment and was presumably drowned	
Kaxiribewõ -- warrior (brother of Poréhiwõ)	39 years
Monamí -- his wife	36 years

/59 cont./

	Estimated Age
551 162 Kuyaromá -- daughter	19 years
Bixewõ -- son	15 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 years
Son (has no name yet). He was born during my visit	1 month
Ironasterí (from the Xiriána tribe) -- wife of Bixewõ	22 years
Yururauwõ -- warrior	28 years
Xekoreimá -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	28 years
Tenxoyahibewõ -- son. (He is the only Pakidái boy attending the mission school of the Salesians in Barcelos (Rio Negro) and speaks Portuguese well. A river trader took him there. Now he is ashamed of his fellow tribesmen and was not to be persuaded to give any information about them).	14 years
Mihemehumá -- son	5 years
Son (has no name yet)	1 year
Kuatoxemão -- warrior	33 years
Toreheíma -- his first wife (from the Puseheweterí tribe)	26 years
Xiahomá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	21 years
Daughter of Xiahomá (has no name yet)	2 years
Karemoué -- warrior	29 years
Xitiporimá -- his first wife	26 years
Tokorá -- son	8 years
Nyarimá -- daughter	4 years
Kirixoíma -- his second wife (from the Xiriána tribe)	20 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	6 months
Prexemí -- widow (mother of Karemoué)	50 years
Hokotómarimá -- bachelor (brother of Karemoué; died as the result of an accident during my stay)	19 years
Xoronauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years

/70 cont./

764 Among the Pakidái I was able to be present on the sad occasion of a burial ceremony for the young, vigorous, and happy Hokotómarimá, an unmarried youth whose age was 19 years at [762] most. He had fallen from the top of a pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) (the liana lashing of his climbing apparatus, see p. 121, had evidently not been firm enough) and must have suffered internal injuries. All the efforts to save him, which were carried out uninterruptedly by the chief and his helpers for two days and nights, were unsuccessful.

[302] After the dead Hokotómarimá had been pushed into the wooden frame, five warriors whose bodies were painted all over with urucú carried him out of the maloka, amid loud lamentations. Two men carried the frame, one in front and one in back; now and then they were relieved by their companions. The women of his kin group, in part with children on their hips or by the hand, accompanied him, amid heart-rending, shrill tones of lament and endlessly flowing tears, on this last journey to the edge of the forest. Then the five men went on alone with the deceased. (The chief did not take part; he would do so only if the deceased were a relative.) After a walk of about 20 minutes, they suddenly stopped, set down the frame, and selected a suitable tree, in order to hang it in the crown. When they had found it, in this case a tall imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.) -- tokorí --, two men climbed up, each with two long lianas (cipó-titica) hanging around their necks. They chose a particularly thick limb, then lowered the lianas, where their companions tied them to the wooden frame, and pulled it up with the dead man lying in it. When the frame was hanging firmly and securely on the branch, they climbed down again.

Immediately thereafter the five men started back to the maloka. On the way, however, the brother of the deceased cut [551] into a tree, the name of which the deceased bore -- hokotómarimá -- matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), with his terçado (large bush-knife) and in the lower part of the trunk, deep notches which had the following appearance ~~~~~~~~~~~~~~ and extended around the entire trunk. This was supposed to make the tree die.

/70 cont./

764 [551] If the deceased had borne, say, the name of an animal, it would have been the duty of the brother or a relative to kill such an animal. For, with the dead person, an animal or plant of the same name must also be killed or be made to die (see pp. 138/139).

While the deceased hung in the crown of the imbauba tree, the laments of his relatives in the maloka continued, and even the children did not lag behind their parents in this respect. At night one or two men were always awake, sometimes also a woman, who, at the same time, sang, wept, and intermittently uttered shrill sounds. The sleep of the other members of the tribe, however, was not disturbed by it.

765 Seventeen days after the death of Hokotómarimá the second part of the burial ceremony began. The male relatives cut down more trees, and, under the imbauba tree in whose crown the dead man hung, they raised a funeral pyre; moreover, they cleared the forest at this spot, so that there was a rather large open area. On the afternoon of the eighteenth day all the Pakidái men then painted themselves with urucú and, under the leadership of Chief Karenauõ, singing loudly and weeping at the same time, they went to the place of the dead. All the women and children remaining behind also wept fervently, even the ones who were not related to the deceased. The /71/ men carried bows and arrows in their hands; some of them also carried snuff-powder and the tube for blowing it in. The brother, moreover, had the weapons and tools of the deceased, as well as bowls made out of the jamaru fruit -- horotó.

When the procession reached the imbauba tree, two kinsmen climbed up once more and carefully lowered the wooden frame, which was received by the other warriors and placed on the pyre in such a way that the head of the deceased was turned toward the rising moon. The dead man, however, was only a skeleton. The flesh had decayed and fallen through the slats to the ground where the vultures, ants, and other animals had devoured it. The brother put his weapons and tools on the wooden frame, so that they would be available to Hokotómarimá in the realm of the dead. Several pieces of meat, bananas, some manioc flour, and the full calabash of a palm drink were to serve as food along the way.

Surára
Parídai

821 /92 cont./
796 danger. For the fact that it has chosen the serras as dwelling
794 places for the gigantic plant and animal spirits is injurious to their power if it is directed against Poré and Perimbó. In contrast to the serras, the hekurá are steadfastly faithful followers of the united moon deities and, together with the stars, protect them against any attacks on the part of the sun and its temporary allies. Sometimes, in an altercation which the serras wage with the moon or sun, an eclipse of the moon or sun appears, because the celestial body in question wishes to conceal itself from the other, so that it will not be drawn into the dispute (447). If, for example, it becomes dark before a thunderstorm and lightning begins to flash, then the sun is very thirsty, is hiding behind the serras and asking for rain. The latter relay the request to the moon. But it does not want to comply with the sun's wish, and already there is reason for the serras and the moon to quarrel. Then when it thunders, Poré has a headache out of anger, and he finally shakes the rain tree to put an end to the quarrel.

[191]

447. The relationship of moon and sun also plays a special role in the religious and mythological ideas of various other Indian tribes. In the myth of the Yurakaré /Yuracare/, for example, it is treated in the sense of the Orpheus motif (Rodrigues, 1875, pp. 252 ff.; d'Orbigny, 1835/47, III, p. 210).

794 The hekurá are gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals that live on certain serras that are taboo for human beings. These nature spirits are regarded as subordinate helpers of Poré and Perimbó. They are usually favorably disposed toward human beings, permit and facilitate hunting, gathering, and agriculture for them. The men, however, must always show their gratitude to them by prayers, and they may
794 not indiscriminately destroy animals and plants. This is also
● 55 related to the fact that all members of the tribe, men, women,

/92 cont./ and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waiká /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and, as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three differ-
791 ent theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
756 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
793 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
000 by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/470 cont./

512 men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the
[276] spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves
[721] are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against
[176] the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may
[533] continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when
[203] there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be
[594] crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Un-
551 til the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

• 551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

/471 cont./

551 When a person is called by his own name, he frequently returns the insult by calling the offender by his own name.

/472/ The names of persons are distinguished by their masculine or feminine suffixes, in such a way that he can always be sure to which sex the person referred to belongs, even though this might not have been known. The names which end in "-wa" are masculine, and those which end in "-mi" or in "-ma" are feminine.

552 Dogs are also given proper names. Their names are distinguished by the endings for the gender. Other domestic animals rarely receive a proper name and rather are called monkey, parrot, etc.

Relations between Persons

576 The greatest compliment which can generally be made to another person who has acquired a new object is to say: "Give me that." The usual reply is: "No." Such a person is highly pleased to know that he has acquired something desired by another.

574 591 When a visitor (or group of visitors) comes to visit a settlement, he stays outside and decorates himself with painting, feathers, etc. Then, when the inhabitants of the settlement see him coming, they break out in applause. The visitor enters the interior patio of the settlement and stands with his head thrown back, holding his bow and arrows out in front, resting vertically on the ground. When he is invited to enter a house, he goes to it and lies down in a hammock on his back, with his head back, remaining motionless for ten to twenty minutes. (A person who frequently visits the settlement knows the house in which he will be well received and goes to it without waiting to be invited.)

574 Once the visitor has rested, he is offered some food. As soon as he finishes eating, and sometimes even before, he breaks his silence and begins to talk with the group which has gathered around him in order to watch him. Then he remains in this same house, where he is given food as long as his visit lasts. They never think of charging him for the food, but an undesirable visitor is either not invited or advised to leave.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 I overlooked this incident I would have invited them to take even greater liberties with
123 my goods in the future. I crossed the river, docked amidst their dugouts, and shouted for the Indians to come out and see me. A few of the culprits appeared, mischievous grins on their faces. I gave a spirited lecture about how hard I had worked to put those boards in my canoe, how I had paid a machete for the wood, and how angry I was that they destroyed my work in their haste to cross the river. I then pulled out my hunting knife and, while their grins disappeared, cut each of their canoes loose, set it into the current, and let them float away. I left without further ado and without looking back.

They managed to borrow another canoe and, after some effort, recovered their dugouts. The headman of the village later told me with an approving chuckle that I had done the correct thing. Everyone in the village, except, of course, the culprits, supported and defended my action. This raised my status.

Whenever I took such action and defended my rights, I got along much better with the Yąnomamö. A good deal of their behavior toward me was directed with the forethought of establishing the point at which I would react defensively. Many of them later reminisced about the early days of my work when I was "timid" and a little afraid of them, and they could bully me into giving goods away.

Theft was the most persistent situation that required me to take some sort of defensive action. I simply could not keep everything I owned locked in trunks, and the Indians came into my hut and left at will. I developed a very effective means for recovering almost all the stolen items. I would simply ask a child who took the item and then take that person's hammock when he was not around, giving a spirited lecture to the others as I marched away in a faked rage with the thief's hammock. Nobody ever attempted to stop me from doing this, and almost all of them told me that my technique for recovering my possessions was admirable. By nightfall the thief would either appear with the stolen object or send it along with someone else to make an exchange. The others would heckle him for getting caught and being forced to return the item.

121 With respect to collecting the data I sought, there was a very frustrating problem.
124 Primitive social organization is kinship organization, and to understand the Yąnomamö
• 55 way of life I had to collect extensive genealogies. I could not have deliberately picked
114 a more difficult group to work with in this regard: They have very stringent name taboos. They attempt to name people in such a way that when the person dies and they can no longer use his name, the loss of the word in the language is not inconvenient. Hence, they name people for specific and minute parts of things, such as "toenail of some rodent," thereby being able to retain the words "toenail" and "(specific) rodent," but not being able to refer directly to the toenail of that rodent. The taboo is maintained even for the living. One mark of prestige is the courtesy others show you by not using your name. The sanctions behind the taboo seem to be an unusual combination of fear and respect.

114 I tried to use kinship terms to collect genealogies at first, but the kinship terms
123 were so ambiguous that I ultimately had to resort to names. They were quick to grasp
124 that I was bound to learn everybody's name and reacted, without my knowing it, by
60 inventing false names for everybody in the village. After having spent several months
55 collecting names and learning them, this came as a disappointment to me: I could not cross-check the genealogies with other informants from distant villages.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

They enjoyed watching me learn these names. I assumed, wrongly, that I would get the truth to each question and that I would get the best information by working in public. This set the stage for converting a serious project into a farce. Each informant tried to outdo his peers by inventing a name even more ridiculous than what I had been given earlier, or by asserting that the individual about whom I inquired was married to his mother or daughter, and the like. I would have the informant whisper the name of the individual in my ear, noting that he was the father of such and such a child. Everybody would then insist that I repeat the name aloud, roaring in hysterics as I clumsily pronounced the name. I assumed that the laughter was in response to the violation of the name taboo or to my pronunciation. This was a reasonable interpretation, since the individual whose name I said aloud invariably became angry. After I learned what some of the names meant, I began to understand what the laughter was all about. A few of the more colorful examples are: "hairy vagina," "long penis," "feces of the harpy eagle," and "dirty rectum." No wonder the victims were angry.

I was forced to do my genealogy work in private because of the horseplay and nonsense. Once I did so, my informants began to agree with each other and I managed to learn a few new names, real names. I could then test any new informant by collecting a genealogy from him that I knew to be accurate. I was able to weed out the more mischievous informants this way. Little by little I extended the genealogies and learned the real names. Still, I was unable to get the names of the dead and extend the genealogies back in time, and even my best informants continued to deceive me about their own close relatives. Most of them gave me the name of a living man as the father of some individual in order to avoid mentioning that the actual father was dead.

The quality of a genealogy depends in part on the number of generations it embraces, and the name taboo prevented me from getting any substantial information about deceased ancestors. Without this information, I could not detect marriage patterns through time. I had to rely on older informants for this information, but these were the most reluctant of all. As I became more proficient in the language and more skilled at detecting lies, my informants became better at lying. One of them in particular was so cunning and persuasive that I was shocked to discover that he had been inventing his information. He specialized in making a ceremony out of telling me false names. He would look around to make sure nobody was listening outside my hut, enjoin me to never mention the name again, act very nervous and spooky, and then grab me by the head to whisper the name very softly into my ear. I was always elated after an informant session with him, because I had several generations of dead ancestors for the living people. The others refused to give me this information. To show my gratitude, I paid him quadruple the rate I had given the others. When word got around that I had increased the pay, volunteers began pouring in to give me genealogies.

I discovered that the old man was lying quite by accident. A club fight broke out in the village one day, the result of a dispute over the possession of a woman. She had been promised to Rerebawä, a particularly aggressive young man who had married into the village. Rerebawä had already been given her older sister and was enraged when the younger girl began having an affair with another man in the village, making no attempt to conceal it from him. He challenged the young man to a club fight, but was so abusive in his challenge that the opponent's father took offense and entered the village circle with his son, wielding a long club. Rerebawä swaggered out to the duel and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 hurled insults at both of them, trying to goad them into striking him on the head with
123 their clubs. This would have given him the opportunity to strike them on the head. His
124 opponents refused to hit him, and the fight ended. Rerebawä had won a moral victory
578 because his opponents were afraid to hit him. Thereafter, he swaggered around and in-
839 sulted the two men behind their backs. He was genuinely angry with them, to the point of calling the older man by the name of his dead father. I quickly seized on this as an opportunity to collect an accurate genealogy and pumped him about his adversary's ancestors. Rerebawä had been particularly nasty to me up to this point, but we became staunch allies: We were both outsiders in the local village. I then asked about other dead ancestors and got immediate replies. He was angry with the whole group and not afraid to tell me the names of the dead. When I compared his version of the genealogies to that of the old man, it was obvious that one of them was lying. I challenged his information, and he explained that everybody knew that the old man was deceiving me and bragging about it in the village. The names the old man had given me were the dead ancestors of the members of a village so far away that he thought I would never have occasion to inquire about them. As it turned out, Rerebawä knew most of the people in that village and recognized the names.

114 I then went over the complete genealogical records with Rerebawä, genealogies I
124 had presumed to be in final form. I had to revise them all because of the numerous lies and falsifications they contained. Thus, after five months of almost constant work on the genealogies of just one group, I had to begin almost from scratch!

114 Discouraging as it was to start over, it was still the first real turning point in my
123 fieldwork. Thereafter, I began taking advantage of local arguments and animosities in
124 selecting my informants, and used more extensively individuals who had married into the group. I began traveling to other villages to check the genealogies, picking villages that were on strained terms with the people about whom I wanted information. I would then return to my base camp and check with local informants the accuracy of the new information. If the informants became angry when I mentioned the new names I acquired from the unfriendly group, I was almost certain that the information was accurate. For this kind of checking I had to use informants whose genealogies I knew rather well: they had to be distantly enough related to the dead person that they would not go into a rage when I mentioned the name, but not so remotely related that they would be uncertain of the accuracy of the information. Thus, I had to make a list of names that I dared not use in the presence of each and every informant. Despite the precautions, I occasionally hit a name that put the informant into a rage, such as that of a dead brother or sister that other informants had not reported. This always terminated the day's work with that informant, for he would be too touchy to continue any further, and I would be reluctant to take a chance on accidentally discovering another dead kinsman so soon after the first.

114 These were always unpleasant experiences, and occasionally dangerous ones, de-
123 pending on the temperament of the informant. On one occasion I was planning to visit
124 a village that had been raided about a week earlier. A woman whose name I had on my
• 551 list had been killed by the raiders. I planned to check each individual on the list one by one to estimate ages, and I wanted to remove her name so that I would not say it aloud in the village. I knew that I would be in considerable difficulty if I said this name aloud so soon after her death. I called on my original informant and asked him to tell

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me the name of the woman who had been killed. He refused, explaining that she was a close relative of his. I then asked him if he would become angry if I read off all the names on the list. This way he did not have to say her name and could merely nod when I mentioned the right one. He was a fairly good friend of mine, and I thought I could predict his reaction. He assured me that this would be a good way of doing it. We were alone in my hut so that nobody could overhear us. I read the names softly, continuing to the next when he gave a negative reply. When I finally spoke the name of the dead woman he flew out of his chair, raised his arm to strike me, and shouted: "You son-of-a-bitch![6] If you ever say that name again, I'll kill you!" He was shaking with rage, but left my hut quietly. I shudder to think what might have happened if I had said the name unknowingly in the woman's village. I had other, similar experiences in different villages, but luckily the dead person had been dead for some time and was not closely related to the individual into whose ear I whispered the name. I was merely cautioned to desist from saying any more names, lest I get people angry with me.

I had been working on the genealogies for nearly a year when another individual came to my aid. It was Kąobawä, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri, the group in which I spent most of my time. He visited me one day after the others had left the hut and volunteered to help me on the genealogies. He was poor, he explained, and needed a machete. He would work only on the condition that I did not ask him about his own parents and other very close kinsmen who were dead. He also added that he would not lie to me as the others had done in the past. This was perhaps the most important single event in my fieldwork, for out of this meeting evolved a very warm friendship and a very profitable informant-fieldworker relationship.

Kąobawä's familiarity with his group's history and his candidness were remarkable. His knowledge of details was almost encyclopedic. More than that, he was enthusiastic and encouraged me to learn details that I might otherwise have ignored. If there were things he did not know intimately, he would advise me to wait until he could check things out with someone in the village. This he would do clandestinely, giving me a report the next day. As I was constrained by my part of the bargain to avoid discussing his close dead kinsmen, I had to rely on Rerebawä for this information. I got Rerebawä's genealogy from Kąobawä.

Once again I went over the genealogies with Kąobawä to recheck them, a considerable task by this time: they included about two thousand names, representing several generations of individuals from four different villages. Rerebawä's information was very accurate, and Kąobawä's contribution enabled me to trace the genealogies further back in time. Thus, after nearly a year of constant work on genealogies, Yąnomamö demography and social organization began to fall into a pattern. Only then could I see how kin groups formed and exchanged women with each other over time, and only then did the fissioning of larger villages into smaller ones show a distinct pattern. At this point I was able to begin formulating more intelligent questions because there was now some sort of pattern to work with. Without the help of Rerebawä and Kąobawä I could not have made very much sense of the plethora of details I had collected from dozens of other informants.

[6] This is the closest English translation of his actual statement, the literal translation of which would be nonsensical in our language.

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606 123 The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kąobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and [551] hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

128 595 602 *Case E:* The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 [601] *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 587 602 *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating the *levirate:* the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their [597] sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

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When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*ro*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The